



# SOCIAL ACTION

*Emotional Integration*  
*H. E. Valerian Cardinal Gracias*

**Vol. 11    December    1961**

INDIAN    SOCIAL    INSTITUTE

# SOCIAL ACTION

Vol. 11

No. 12

December, 1961

---

529 EMOTIONAL INTEGRATION

*H. E. Valerian Cardinal Gracias*

539 ALL-INDIA SEMINAR ON LOW COST  
HOUSING

*S. Santiago*

546 PROBLEMS OF YOUTH IN THE YEAR

557 THEORY TO PRACTICE

*Alfred de Souza*

562 NEWS AND COMMENT

571 OUR SOCIAL OBJECTIVES IN THE  
NEW YEAR

*L. Rodricks*

575 AN ESSAY IN MIGRATION

**SOCIAL ACTION** is published monthly by the Indian Institute of Social Order, 13 Boat Club Road, Poona 1, India. Phone 2098. The Editorial Board does not necessarily endorse the individual views of its contributors.

Subscription rates : Yearly, Rs. 6 or \$. 2 or 10 s Single copy, Re. 0.50 *65.*

Cheques should be made out in favour of the Indian Social Institute, and if not drafted on a Poona Bank should cover the clearing commission. V.P.P. charges are extra. Inland Money Orders or by Foreign Cheques are the best means of payment.

# SOCIAL ACTION

VOL. 11

No. 12

DECEMBER 1961

## EMOTIONAL INTEGRATION

H. E. Valerian Cardinal Gracias

*(The following is a reply by His Eminence Valerian Cardinal Gracias to a questionnaire submitted by Dr. Sampurnanand, Chairman of the Emotional Integration Committee on behalf of the Government of India)*

Q. 1. *What in your opinion, are the tendencies in our national life which work against the unification of the country?*

The size of the country, the heterogeneous populations living therein, the difficulty of communications till comparatively recent times, the variety of languages spoken, which make communication all but impossible, between various parts of the country, though English provided a link between the educated classes, which are a small minority — all these factors tended to keep the country disunited and the people apart. The concept of India as a nation, one and indivisible, despite all varieties of races, creeds and castes, is of comparatively recent growth. It was the result of the unification of India under British rule, the English education which inspired the intelligentsia with ideas of nationalism and independence and the struggle for freedom against the British rule. This struggle however was confined for long to the small educated class, mainly in urban areas. It is only after Mahatma Gandhi took charge of the movement that the seeds of nationalism were sown in the countryside, where most of the people reside.

On the whole it is unfortunately true that the average individual in India feels his first loyalty to family, caste, and community, in that order, with national feeling coming last.

The Hindu Muslim feud ending in the partition of India has left a trail of bitterness which the passing of years has not wholly erased. Militant Hindu organisations are keeping the differences alive and are looking upon the Muslims, and for that matter, on Christians, as suspect. They are not agreeable to the secular concept of the Constitution. This has repercussions among the minorities. The Scheduled Castes and Tribes, though enjoying political and civic equality, still find in practice that their social status remains unchanged. The caste feeling in the rural areas is as strong as ever and acts as a divisive force.

*Q. 2. What are the reasons for these fissiparous tendencies?*

India basically is a mosaic of races, creeds and castes, which has not yet evolved into an integrated community with a common national feeling.

Large sections of the population are sunk in illiteracy and gross ignorance. They have either received no education, or such education as may fit them for a job. Being illiterate, they cannot be reached by the press, which might be used as an instrument of national integration, though the press organs in regional languages which cater to them are themselves often lacking in national consciousness and foster communalism.

They are also sunk in poverty and engaged in struggle for the mere living, which engages their whole energy, leaving very little room to things and feelings outside their immediate range.

The poverty of the larger number and the limited opportunities for economic advancement forces a strong competition, wherein individuals in a position to help use their influence in favour of members of their family, caste or community. This is bound to create dissatisfaction and intercaste and intercommunal rivalry.



The economic power is very unevenly distributed among the various communities and this too stands in the way of unity. But this is not peculiar to India. Class feeling is a divisive force wherever a rootless proletariat confronts economically secure classes.

Language tensions have added to the sense of strangeness and hostility between sections of the population. This however is a post-independence phenomenon. There were no such tensions apparent before. Nobody fought over languages.

Religious or communal differences have in no small measure contributed to the lack of national unity. Every community tries to isolate itself from the other. Social intercourse between them is limited. Hence lack of mutual understanding, which occasionally leads even to conflict. Yet the exasperation of communal feeling is a matter of relatively recent times. It makes its appearance in the course of the national struggle for transfer of power and the coincidence is not to our mind fortuitous. It was the possibility of power in free India passing into the hands of the numerical majority, that is the Hindu community, and the fear which this inspired among the Muslims that they would be dominated by those who were once their subjects that created Hindu-Muslim tension, leading eventually to partition.

Existence of different religions in a country need not be a bar to unity, as is evident from the history of other countries, provided a strong national feeling binds them together.

The main binding factor which created national consciousness and gave rise to the nationalist movement was the existence of a foreign government all over India. The struggle for independence bound all together irrespective of ideological or linguistic differences. Once independence was secured, this particular bond which was negative rather than positive gave way to various particularist influences pulling in different directions. We need not however exaggerate. The

sense of nationhood is certainly there. The existence of a unified nation governed by a strong central government under a secular constitution is a great cohesive force. The framework of a nation is there. What is needed is the creation of a spirit which is filled with the sense of unity in diversity, which will not allow sectional interests to override the national. This is the task for education. That education must be carried out not only in schools and colleges, but by the press and the radio and by all social and political organisations.

The existence and functioning of communal organisations as political parties have added to existing strains and tensions. They are often provocative in their statements and policies and create a sense of insecurity in smaller communities. They are an impediment to national unity.

Though some of these fissiparous tendencies have long been in existence they appear to have gained strength after Independence. Linguism is a post-independence phenomenon. Under the British rule the various provinces took no account of local languages. The provinces were on the whole multilingual. There were no dissensions over it. The demand for linguistic states appears only after Independence. There is no question that one's language and culture appertaining to it is a strong binding factor anywhere in the world. But in a multilingual country like India, which is yet to be emotionally integrated, linguism has its pitfalls, unless there is a commonly accepted medium of communication between the linguistic states. The centrifugal forces of linguistic regionalism have to be counterbalanced by a common medium.

Casteism has been a feature of Indian society. So far as its own members are concerned it is a strong cohesive force. But from the national point of view it stands in the way of integration. Its treatment of outcastes cannot be reconciled with a democratic way of life to which the nation is pledged. Since independence casteism has suffered losses. It has suffered

increased industrialisation and urbanisation, which is breaking down caste barriers. Untouchability for instance is almost impossible in the conditions of urban living and working. Our Constitution assuring equality of all citizens, whatever their caste, with the right to vote given to everyone on an equal footing, is working against the system. On the other hand, in the increasing opportunities opened by the economic development of the country, casteism plays no small part. In the appointment to various jobs and offices caste loyalty, it is widely believed, often transcends merit. This does not conduce to national integration.

As regards communalism the violent agitational forms it had assumed prior to independence, has abated a good deal. In an aggressive form it appears in some of the northern States, elsewhere in India the various communities live in peace.

Communalism like casteism makes itself felt in political life and the economy of the country. There are many complaints that the minorities do not get a fair share of representation and power. This may be partly the fault of the minorities themselves in so far as they do not participate in political life and activities as fully as they should. There are also complaints that in neither the private nor the public sector do the minorities get their deserts. This kind of feeling of discrimination again does not conduce to national integration.

*Q. 3. What do you understand by emotional integration ?*

Emotional integration is another name for patriotism. Patriotism is based on a strong love of one's country or nation, love that is prepared for ultimate sacrifice if need be. A country can only call itself a nation when its inhabitants are moved and ruled by this feeling. It is an extension of the natural love everyone feels for his own home and village.

But this extension is not necessarily automatic. It has to be carefully fostered, especially in a country so vast and populous as India, where residents of one State often know little or nothing about those in others. Everyone in the country, whatever region he may belong to, must feel that he is an Indian first of all. He must learn to be proud of his nation, its past glories and its present status. He must rejoice at any achievement in science, letters, industry or sport of an Indian irrespective of whether he belongs to his caste or community. He must learn to feel that men of other communities or regions are not strangers, but neighbours, children of Mother India, and therefore brothers. It is only when such a feeling is rooted in the heart that emotional integration will be completed. He must be loyal to his country, its ideals and its institutions. He must work for its progress and prosperity, believing that his own progress and prosperity are bound up with the nation's.

*Q. 4 What, in your opinion, is the role education can play in strengthening the emotional integration of the country ?*

Education must necessarily play an important role in creating and fostering emotional integration — education in the broadest sense and through every means of communication. This includes the press which will have increasing influence as education spreads, and the radio which can now reach the literate and the illiterate in town and village alike. Obviously one of the most effective instruments of education will be educational institutions, schools and colleges, which must make it one of their primary aims to educate future citizens in love of the country and in the rights and duties of citizenship.

There is no particular stage in education for inculcating the unity and love of the country. It must form part of education from the beginning as soon as the child is capable of understanding.

At all levels of education, occasions like the national festivals — Independence Day, Republic Day, Gandhi Jayanti, etc. — must be utilised to educate the students in a sense of unity. They must be fittingly celebrated, and the meaning of the celebration brought vividly to the mind and heart of the children by speeches, song and pagentry. Such occasions must be utilised to speak about the struggle for independence, the meaning of an independent nation, the future of the nation, not the region or community. The death of a great Indian, whether a public man or a poet, a scientist or professional man, must also be used to produce a feeling of national pride in his achievements, because he is an Indian, a national figure, whatever community or region he may belong to.

*At the primary level*, instruction in geography must not end with local or State geography, but must include a general geography, however elementary, of the country as a whole — the various peoples, their ways of living, working, but all in spite of diversity of custom and traditions, members of the same nation.

Since for small children personalities have the greatest appeal, reading matter should include suitable stories of Indian classics like the Mahabharata and the Ramayana, and tales about heroes and great men and women of all communities. Such materials in the hands of a national-minded teacher can be used effectively to rouse love of the country in the child.

*At the secondary level*, the study of civics may be made the vehicle for correct thinking about the rights and duties of citizenship, the meaning of the vote and how to exercise it before the law and in the Constitution, and the moral necessity to do justice to all, irrespective of caste or creed, can be inculcated in this class. Both history and geography can also be used effectively to create a sense of oneness and belonging. How, for example, the industries though located in one state

serve national interests, how the economic life of all regions is connected with the rest.

At this stage, general reading which is to be encouraged must include books dealing with India, biographies, tales from various regions, travel books through India, and magazines which contain articles dealing with Indian antiquities, and customs and ways of people in various regions. Books and magazines of this type must be published in regional languages and in Hindi in simple language, preferably illustrated. Every school library must be stocked with books of this type and children encouraged to read them.... In those schools, where children of various communities seek admission, as in Christian schools, every encouragement should be given for the children to meet together and make friends breaking down communal isolation. In various activities — debating clubs, Boy Scouts and Girl Guides and in social ways — these children of various communities must be thrown together. This is one of the ways of bringing about emotional integration.

*At the college level*, as the colleges are normally open to students of all communities and castes, who have reached an age where they can make a reasoned choice, this is the best place to break down the caste and community barriers. Every encouragement should be given to form cultural societies open to all. Discussion should be encouraged about all kinds of problems, social, economic, literary, political, affecting the whole of India. The libraries and reading rooms should contain a large amount of reading matter, dealing with India, past and present. It is a pity that college teachers have so few contacts with students. They, if they are really national-minded, could do a great deal to promote national integration. The college students of today are the leaders of the country tomorrow.

\* \* \* \* \*

Q. 5. *What basic unities do you find in the diversity of culture which make us essentially Indian?*

Over and above, the influence of government must be the unifying influence of culture. The history of India reveals a tendency towards the marriage of cultures — Aryan and Dravidian, Brahmin and Buddhist, Hindu and Muslim, and now Indian and European. This new Indian culture, the result of the evolution of centuries, must be fostered as the culture of India — the culture which must be taught in the home, in the school, in the university, in the press and on the radio.

The instrument of this new common culture of India is English. It is English which has been not only the latest instrument of that culture, but the carrier of that culture all over India. Place must be found for it in all grades of education. The first place may be given to the mother tongue, but a substantial place must be found for English in all curricula. The common core of English studies in schools and university colleges in India, will produce a body of educated people, a growing body, as literacy and education spread, that will know, understand and feel bound to one another. This common core of English studies acting as the propagator of the new common culture of India will overcome the dividing tendencies of the languages and the religions of India.

For the cementing of the unity of India more solid and substantial than this core culture, is one which is more ancient than language or religion and culture. It is the land of India. The love of the land is a sure foundation and source of patriotism. And it is this love of the land that must be cultivated and reared in India as the most solid and lasting support of the unity of India. At home and in school, in offices and public places and buildings, with maps and pictures of India, and its scenery the form and shape of the country must be presented to the people every hour of their lives. This love must become the supreme secular love of the people, one which may conquer the other false sectional loves that trouble the soul of India.

**Q. 6.** *What are the ways in which parents and the community can help the teacher in this project?*

The only way teachers can get into touch with the parents is through parent-teacher associations and regular meetings. But usually such meetings are concerned with the educational problems of the children. In regard to national integration, parents themselves are in need of education and change of mentality.

From the point of view of national integration non-communal hostels and educational institutions are better. For it is only in such institutions that children of all communities can meet and know and understand one another. It is only in such institutions that they can realise that children of all communities are basically alike with like feelings and capacities, and thus shed their spirit of isolation.

But even if they are communal, as the Constitution gives minorities the right to have their own institutions, they need not be the harbingers of communalism, provided they work for and within the ambit of national education and inculcate respect for all communities, and their rights.

Catholic schools, though primarily meant for Catholic children, are not only open to all on equal terms but shun all narrowmindedness and encourage a spirit of fraternal charity based on the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of men.



# ALL-INDIA SEMINAR ON LOW COST HOUSING

S. Santiago

An all-India Seminar on Low Cost Housing was organised by the Indian Social Institute, Poona at St. Pius X College (Diocesan Seminary) Goregaon, Bombay from October 31st to November 3rd, 1961.

About 40 delegates drawn from the various dioceses in India participated in the Seminar. Many experts on Housing serving in the Government, the Reserve Bank of India, the Indian Social Institute, Poona, and the Ford Foundation made valuable contributions on the theoretical and practical approaches to the housing problem, with particular reference to the 'low cost' aspect and its need and importance in India. Most of the delegates, many among them priests, were people actually engaged in building for the poor on diocesan and parish levels. The Seminar grew therefore during the four days of its tenure

into a natural 'All-India Low Cost Housing Cell' of an important section of the Private Sector, — the experts giving the lead and the delegates effectively participating in it and exchanging their views and practical experiences in the housing field. The Seminar was able to unravel the immense problems of housing in general and low cost housing in particular; to suggest possible solutions for them and to formulate some clearly defined basic ideas that should be the basis for any action on Housing.

## *The Participants*

The Seminar was indeed very fortunate to have some leading men in the housing line to initiate topics and guide the proceedings. Just to mention a few names — Mr. M. V. Rajwade, I.A.S. Secretary to the Government of Maharashtra who inaugurated the Seminar, is in charge of the Housing Department

which exercises control over newly constructed housing properties built at a cost of about Rs. 20 crores. It was in the fitness of things that he was chosen to declare open the Seminar. Mr. Rene F. Eyheralde, Consultant in Rural Housing, the Ford Foundation New Delhi, is an architect from Chile, South America and was co-ordinator of the Research Programme of the Inter-American Housing and Planning centre of Bogota, Colombia. He came to India on a 6 months assignment with the Ford Foundation, as Village Planning and Housing Consultant to the Government of India. As part of his mission he conducted a National Orientation course in Village Planning and Rural Housing at the University of Roorkee which was attended by the technical staff of the Rural Housing Wings of six Universities, and the State rural Housing cells. He has rendered very valuable help to the Indian Social Institute, Extension Service Poona in advising on and designing low cost houses for the housing projects the latter is sponsoring in Kerala. His contributions to the Seminar will be much cherished by all the delegates of

the Seminar. Another architect and engineer from whom the Seminar benefited a good deal is Mr. Adaviyappa, Executive Engineer in charge of the Rural Housing Cell, Rajasthan. His deep knowledge of the rural housing problem and his readiness to impart his knowledge to all those who sought it during the breaks in the Seminar, contributed much towards its utility. Mr. N. P. Punjabi, Executive Engineer, Housing Division Bombay West has been engaged for many years in the housing programmes for the Slum dwellers, Low Income groups and Middle Income groups in Greater Bombay. Mr. J. C. Ryan a Chief Officer, Reserve Bank of India, Bombay, was formerly Registrar of Co-operative Societies, Madras and in charge of very many successful housing co-operatives in Madras State. Rev. Fr. James J. Berna S.J, Director of the Extension Service Wing of the Indian Social Institute, Poona is engaged in some useful experimentations of slum clearance and village Development projects in Kerala. Rev. Fr. A. Fonseca S.J Editor of Social Action helped the Seminar to formulate the basic concept

of Housing from the view point of a healthy family life.

The delegates to the Seminar came from Bombay, Ahmednagar, Poona, Agra, Ajmer, Aurangabad, Banaras, Ahmedabad, Jabalpur and Raigarh in the North; from Mysore, Vizag, Ernakulam, Tellicherry, Madras and Raichur from the South. Not a few of them have been engaged in housing programmes for the poor for many years. Rev. Fr. J. P. D'Souza of Madras has twenty years of housing to his credit. Rev. Fr. Joseph Taffarel, S.J., of Tellicherry is a missionary who has taken to housing the poor and the depressed as his life long mission. A noteworthy fact is that a few of them are in charge of ambitious housing schemes for the low income group, worth lakhs of rupees. Mr. J. S. Pereira of Bombay has been spending the last 30 years of his life as a cooperative builder. Rev. Fr. Ribot S.J. and Rev. Fr. Garcia S.J. of Bombay are men behind some successful housing cooperative societies.

#### ***Inauguration***

After a warm welcome by Rev. Fr. H. Volken S.J. of the

Indian Social Institute, Poona who organised the seminar, Mr. M. V. Rajwade I. A. S. Secretary to the Government of Maharashtra Urban Development and Public Health Department inaugurated the Seminar. Mr. Rajwade placed before the Seminar some illuminating and self explanatory data on the immensity of urban and rural housing problems in India and in the State of Maharashtra in particular. He invited the delegates to study their implications and oblige him with their findings and suggestions.

One of the high lights of the Seminar was the association of Rt. Rev. Mgr. W. Gomes, Bishop Auxiliary of Bombay with it. He referred the delegates to the fact that the Church is concerned not merely with the spiritual welfare of man as a whole. Citing the latest Encyclical of Pope John XXIII 'Mater et Magistra' he pointed out that the Church as the upholder of the dignity of man as a whole, including his temporal well being, is interested not only in blessing foundation stones and buildings for churches but also those for the housing of men, especially that of the poor.

## Topics

Broadly the Seminar dealt with the topic of low cost housing under four heads (i) Conceptual, social, economic and technical aspects of housing (ii) the problem, possibilities and methods of designing a low cost minimum house, (iii) State aids and how to get them and (iv) peoples participation in housing and the problems and limitations connected with it.

Rev. Fr. A. Fonseca S.J., of the Indian Social Institute, Poona and Mr. Rene F. Eyheralde, Consultant in Rural Housing, the Ford Foundation, New Delhi, attacked the problem under the first head. Fr. Fonseca made, among many, two points of vital importance as guiding principles for any house builder. The first was that any and every solution we may propose for our housing problem should be based on the principle of the human personality and dignity of the human individual as the foundation, the end and the subject of all institutions in which social life is carried on. The second was that every single house should provide for the basic minimum needs of every family all those conditions in

which a Christian family life can flourish and develop. Mr. Eyheralde made it clear that housing was not merely a constructional or structural problem. Bad housing resulted in physical, social and economic evils as well. He summarised in brief that lack of initiative and enterprise on the part of the people to understand and remedy their housing problem combined with their economic incapacity was the crux of the situation. The inherent potentiality of man to construct and to save resources should be tapped to the full extent. Promotion of peoples initiative, dissuading them from always looking to other for help, enabling them to pool their financial resources, big and small, and above all providing them with social and technical leadership were the only means of solving the acute housing problem among the depressed classes in India.

The second head namely 'possibilities' and Methods of Low Cost Housing' was effectively analysed again by Mr. Eyheralde and also by Mr. Adaviyappa, Executive Engineer, Rural Housing Cell, Rajasthan. Mr. Adaviyappa explored in a graphic way the

various means of reducing the cost of the house at all the stages of housing — planning and organisation, specifications of the house at the levels of foundation, plinth, floor, superstructure, lintels, sills, shelves, roof, woodwork. Mr. Eyheralde enlightened the Seminar in a very detailed way as to the design and construction of a minimum house. He stressed the importance of a good design and presented a model plan for floor, cross section and elevation types of a house design. A plinth area of 440 sq. ft. at a cost of Rs. 2,200 in the rural area and Rs. 4,400 in the urban area should be the minimum requirement of a family. Further he made it imperative for a minimum house to have two rooms, a bath room, a latrine, enough space for storage and air circulation, services like water supply, electricity, drainage, facilities for direct light and ventilation and safeguards against fire, water and heat hazards.

The various state aids for housing for different categories of people and the ways and means of obtaining them were explained by Mr. Shivarman, Dy. Chief Officer, Agricultural Credit Department,

Reserve Bank of India, Bombay, by Mr. Chengappa, Principal Cooperative College, Poona and Mr. J. C. Ryan, Chief Officer, Agricultural Credit Department, Reserve Bank of India, Bombay. The unanimous view expressed by all of them was that the recipients of State loans should be such as to be capable of repaying the loans. For this purpose the income groups should be fixed in advance and verified at the time of release of the loans. Effective leadership and integrity of members of Housing Cooperatives alone could ensure success of the State Aid utilisation on programmes in housing.

The fourth and last head namely 'Peoples participation in housing programmes and the problems and limitations connected with it' was dealt with by Mr. J. C. Ryan and also by Rev. Fr. James J. Berna SJ, Director, Indian Social Institute, Extension Service, Poona. The pictorial narration of successful as well as problem housing projects by both of them enabled the Seminar to draw its own conclusions as to the basic requirements for effective participation of people in aided

housing programmes. Adult education programmes among the poor and depressed classes, promotion of thrift fund creation among them, effective propaganda and disinterested leadership and careful execution and supervision right up from top management down to proper maintenance of accounts were sine-que-non for fruitful participation of people in aided housing programmes.

The Seminar had also the benefit of the rich knowledge and wide experience of Mr. N. P. Punjabi, Executive Engineer, Govt. of Maharashtra who spoke on 'How to plan a project'. Mr. Charles Mascarenhas and Mr. J. S. Pereira both builders of long standing in Bombay helped very much to put up the standard of discussions and to enable the seminar to arrive at some practical conclusions.

### ***Some Guiding Principles***

The following ideas formulated by the Seminar will be of lasting interest to promoters of housing for the poor.

(i) Every beneficiary who obtained a house in an aided-programme should contribute either from his own savings or by giving his voluntary labour; (ii) if the beneficia-

ries were so poor as to live on a bare level of subsistence, they should be given the full financial subsidy (iii) apart from looking to Government and private agencies for funds, sources of raising funds should be discovered among the people themselves. Institution of a House Building Fund on a diocesan level is an urgent need: (iv) in the matter of organisation and conduct of co-operative housing societies, the clergy may no longer be responsible for the administration and finances of the co-operatives. They could be useful guides and a source of confidence in the scheme and could play an active role without holding an office; (v) the minimum requirements of a single family may be two rooms, kitchenette, bath and lavatory, the total floor space being 300 sq. ft.; (vi) the ultimate goal of any housing programme would be the occupants ownership of the house; (vii) a good design of the house by technically qualified personnel alone will render a low cost house programme possible (viii) a social and educational programme should always precede a construction scheme to en-

sure success of Tax aid-housing scheme among the poor.

### **Audio-visual Programme**

Two topical films entitled 'Housing Adventure in Chile' and 'Prefabrication of Houses in USA' that were shown during the Seminar threw much light on the housing problems and their solutions, in less developed countries. The Seminar felt that conditions in India were far behind those prevailing in America where low cost houses were prefabricated at the rate of one house every seventh minute in factories. However it drew encouragement from the example of the Chilean people who are similarly placed as the Indians in housing and in solving their want for adequate houses under Government leadership.

### **Outdoor workshop**

The visit of the delegates of the Seminar to the Low Income Group Housing Scheme and also Motilal Nagar, Goregaon, Bombay that has rehabilitated hundreds of slum dwellers in low cost tenements climaxed the usefulness of the Seminar. While

the delegates were able to learn much from the view points of design and lay out of slum clearance projects, they were also convinced of the possibility of solving low-cost housing problems on a massive scale as being done by the State Housing Board of the Government of Maharashtra.

### **Conclusion**

This successful Seminar on Low Cost Housing has proved the necessity and importance of holding similar Seminars. It would be highly desirable therefore that Seminars of this kind should become an annual fixture. The Indian Social Institute, Poona has already in view a similar Seminar to be held next year on the burning issue of 'Population, with special reference to the population problem in India. Men of authority and of national and international reputation on the subject are expected to participate in it. A suggestion was made that those who are interested in the above subject and who would like to contribute to the above seminar by personal participation and otherwise, may keep in touch with the Institute.

# PROBLEMS OF YOUTH IN THE USSR

A seventeen year old girl wrote to Soviet author Anatoly Pristavkin through Literaturnaya Gazeta on November 5, 1960 "One would like to believe that good really does exist" and further on in her letter "... so many thoughts whirl around in our minds nowadays and we are trying to determine the real substance of the problem of what is good and what bad ..." This brings to life the grave problem faced by Soviet youth of the contradiction between the theory forced by Communist indoctrination and the facts of life. Rather than ask "*Quo Vadis Soviet Youths*" — let us ask first what the Party is trying to do with Soviet youth and how well it is succeeding.

The Party's objective is to mould by force the future citizen into their own ideal, the "*new Soviet man*." A person willing to renounce independence and become a Party tool. How well has this system succeeded? According to Soviet propaganda the 'ideal society' is well

under construction. At the 21st Party Congress Khrushchev said "... even now youth is constructing Communism. Later it will live and work in this Communism and take over the entire administration of society. Soviet youth must be prepared for this great mission ..."

This statement seems credible if one is not acquainted with the truth. As a matter of fact, only a small section, after a life-long and systematic indoctrination process, have become faithful followers of Communism. The overwhelming majority, who are physically, mentally and creatively active find themselves in an impasse. The tragedy is that a section of these young people have been reduced to 'dual personalities' and their suppressed feelings of despair, dissatisfaction and protest have led them into violating the law as interpreted by the Soviet system. It is with this section and this problem that this article attempts to deal.



# SOCIAL ACTION

VOL. XI

JANUARY — DECEMBER 1961

## CONTENTS

### EDITORIALS

	<i>Page</i>
Perspectives (January)	.. 1
Truth and the Social Order (February)	.. 49
Is the Church Populationist (March)	.. 97
The Rule of Law (April)	.. 145
The Mind of Pandit Nehru (May and June)	.. 193
National Unity in Peril (July)	.. 265
The State and Public Morality (August)	.. 309
The New Encyclical (September)	.. 357
What is Socialism (October)	.. 405
The New Social Encyclical 'Mater et Magistra' (November) : <i>H. Volken</i>	.. 453
Emotional Integration (December) <i>His Eminence</i> <i>Valerian Cardinal Gracias</i>	.. 529

### ARTICLES

The Role of the Priest in Socio-economic Betterment : <i>M. Van den Bogaert</i>	.. 5
Our Slum Problem : <i>Ajit Thakker</i>	.. 18
The Priest and the Betterment of the Family, the Farmers and the Urban Masses : <i>M. Van den Bogaert</i>	.. 53
Cultural Factors in Community Organization : <i>K. D. Gangrade</i>	.. 63
Racism, Law and Politics : <i>William J. Kenealy, S.J.</i>	.. 104
Socio-economic Uplift Through Co-operatives and Cottage industries : <i>M. Van den Bogaert</i>	.. 113
Racism, Law and Politics (ctd) : <i>William J. Kenealy S.J.</i>	.. 149
Twelve Rules for Handling your Workmen : <i>F. A. Ryan</i>	.. 161
The Third Five Year Plan : <i>A. Fonseca S.J.</i>	.. 174
The Psychological Approach to Business Management : <i>W.T.V. Adiseshiah</i>	.. 200
1961 Outlook for the CPI : <i>A. Nevett</i>	.. 211

Religion in Rural Russia : <i>C. C. Clump</i>	.. 218
Our Growing Population	.. 231
Social Research and Human Betterment : <i>C. C. Clump</i>	.. 271
Peace and Education	.. 280
Sociology and Religion - A Survey : <i>J. Boel</i>	.. 288
Passing of the Proletariat : <i>P. Gisbert</i>	.. 316
Some Adaptative Problems of Adolescent Personality : <i>C. C. Clump</i>	.. 326
Sociology and Religion - A Survey (ctd) : <i>J. Boel</i>	.. 336
Economic Change and the Industrial Worker : <i>Michael John</i>	.. 365
Wage Incentive Schemes in Industry : <i>M. M. Rao</i>	.. 372
Wage Boards and Wage Fixation : <i>A. Fonseca</i>	.. 381
Recent Trends in European Socialism : <i>C. Conte</i>	.. 413
Indian Socialism : <i>L. Rodricks</i>	.. 425
Whither Indian Socialism? : <i>J. Boel</i>	.. 437
The Church and Socialism : <i>A. Fonseca</i>	.. 444
"Socialisation" in the New Encyclical : <i>J. McGinley</i>	.. 464
The Worker and the Industrial Enterprise : <i>A. Fonseca</i>	.. 478
The Depressed Sector-Agriculture : <i>J. G. Saldanha</i>	.. 483
The Under-Developed Economies : <i>J. Fabart</i>	.. 498
The Population Growth and Parental Responsibility : <i>A. Nevett</i>	.. 506
The Springs of Social Action : <i>C. Conte</i>	.. 512
All India Seminar on Low Cost Housing : <i>S. Santiago</i>	.. 539
Problems of Youth in the U.S.S.R. :	.. 546
Our Social objectives in the New Year	.. 571
An easy in migration	.. 575

## THEORY TO PRACTICE

Effective Group Action	.. 27
Bye Laws of a High School Co-operative Society	.. 33
Multi-purpose Co-operative at Kodaikanal : <i>A. Manipadam</i>	.. 123
The Damien Institute and Leprosy Control work : <i>Mgr. Paul Chitulipilly</i>	.. 183
Self Help Slum Clearance Project in Trivandrum	.. 248
Trivandrum Community Development Project	.. 345
Seven Basics in a Material Aid Programme : <i>D. Baker</i>	.. 390
Reclaiming the Slums of Chalil : <i>Alfred de Souza</i>	.. 557

## BOOKS

'Family Planning': S. Royappan, SJ. (Good Pastor Book Depot, Madras)	..	48
'India Today': <i>Frank Moraes</i> (The Macmillan Company)	..	93
'Tales of Gondavana': <i>Stephan Fuchs</i> (Nandi Books, Dhawale Popular)	..	94
'The Revolt in Tibet': <i>Frank Moraes</i> (The Macmillan Co. New York)	o	.. 95
'Pour Une Economic Due Bien Commun': <i>George Ducoin</i>		
'Wage Determination & Organised Labour in India': A. J. Fonseca SJ. (A Doctorate thesis)	..	263
'Pulling our Weight': <i>Douglas Hyde</i> (Catholic Social Guild Oxford)	..	300
'The Christian and the Hindu views concerning Man': Religion & Society, Vol. VII 1960 Bangalore)	..	395
'Course of Moral Science' R. H. Lesser (St. Paul Publications Allahabad)	..	397
'Bibliography' — Reference on Socialism	..	451

## REVIEW OF REVIEWS

Education and the Co-operative Movement: <i>J. Fabrat</i>	..	83
Social Teaching of Pope John XXIII: <i>C. Conte</i>	..	132
Understanding New Nations	..	256
Pax Romana Seminar	..	258

## STATEMENTS

Pope John XXIII to the French Social Week	..	39
Head of Vatican Migration Council on 'Natural Right' of Migrants	..	41
Appeal by the Rt. Rev. J. Malula (Congolese) Auxiliary Bishop of Leopoldville	..	42
Sir Arnold Lunn, on the World Situation	..	46
The Pope — Catholic Action	..	70
Mgr. Cooray, Archbishop of Colombo — Nationalisation of Schools	..	71

The Hierarchy of Ceylon and the School Question	..	128
Cardinal Gracias on the Ceylon School Question	..	129
The Church and the Advancement of Nations	..	236

## NEWS AND COMMENTS

JANUARY	..	47
Communism is 'Good Reading but Terrible Practice' —		
FEBRUARY	..	73
Prof. Galbraith and Planning — Employment in the III Plan — The Moscow Conference — The Congress and Bhavnagar — The Draft Manifesto		
MARCH	..	140
Communist Experimenting in China — Unemployment —		
APRIL	..	187
Land Cielings for Sugar Cane Farms — Powerlooms — Crowded Calcutta — Aftermath of a Strike — Inaugural Address	..	
JULY	..	303
The Model Village — ILO Institute of Labour Studies — E.C.A.F.E. — Agricultural Statistics — The Sugar Industry		
AUGUST	..	351
The C.P.C. Congress — Monsoon Toll — Cachar and and Hailakandi — Our Sterling Resources — The European Common Market — Loans to Indian, Firms		
SEPTEMBER	..	399
Split in Communist Camp — Communalism, — '1980 — Big Brother!'		
Reports on Study Camps	..	296
NOVEMBER	..	320
QUESTIONNAIRE on the Encyclical		
DECEMBER		
From the Editorials — 'ID' — Man without Status — Increasing Income of Landless Farm Labour — National Integration	..	562

In a totalitarian system such as the Soviet Union where the power of the state penetrates every sphere of life and where behaviour is strictly controlled by Party dogma, there should be no place for juvenile delinquency. Inspection of the Soviet press, however, indicates clearly that large scale juvenile delinquency does exist in the USSR. For example Komsomolskaya Pravda published this letter "*.. Bandits want to kill forty girls in this town. Two are said to have been murdered already. The place is in a state of general panic ...*" This paper, the organ of the Communist youth organisations, unearthed the extraordinary fact that the lives of these girls had been bet and lost in a card game by rival gangs. How has juvenile crime become such a major problem in the USSR — where and how has the control apparatus failed?

### **Systematic Eradication of the Family Sense**

The aim of the Communist Party to create an 'ideal communist society' has driven them to a mass re-education of an entire people. The regime has systematically struggled to eradicate

the sense of family, family ethics and loyalty in the oncoming generations of Soviet youth, and this has been the most important factor contributing to juvenile delinquency in the USSR. The Party has made it clear that it is of vital necessity that every young person masters the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and that the struggle to implement this will continue.

To achieve this the training of youth becomes the monopoly of the Party and any foreign influences must be removed. Parents have no place in this programme and hence the drive to destroy the family unit. Soviet theorist, Academician S. Strumilin makes this clear in *Novy Mir* No. 7, 1960 when he says "*... We reject the old traditions, according to which men regard their wives, parents and their children as their personal property...further... Complete responsibility for the fate of the new member of society, and above all for its rearing as a human being and citizen, can be borne by society itself, which leaves to the family only those functions which can be assigned to it without harm to the children...*" Strumilin goes on

to outline Soviet plans whereby "... Upon leaving the maternity hospital every Soviet citizen will be placed in a creche, from which he enters kindergarten, open day and night, or a children's home; following this he will go to a boarding school from which he will enter life with a graduation certificate to take a job ...". Mothers have the dubious consolation of being able to visit their children, work permitting and strictly on permission.

To date, communes to absorb the family unit and pre-school establishments have not been set up, but every effort is being made to spiritually separate the child from the family and to win over the soul of the child to the Party. As all wives and mothers, except for the privileged class, are compelled to work at full time jobs, children are usually kept at all day nurseries and kindergartens, which means subjection to the Party line from earliest childhood. Then again recreation facilities in the club houses operated by the youth affiliates of the Party are provided. "Pioneers" for pre-fifteen age level and "Komsomol" for the 15-25 group. Here again

the indoctrination process is continued through various programmes intended to draw children away from their crowded, ramshackle homes. Physical separation is combined with subtle methods to develop in the child a sense of scorn and even hostility towards parents. For years now the Soviet child has had to share in the glorification of hero Pavlik Mozorov a 14 year old Pioneer who denounced his own parents during the purges of 1932.

A. Novikov outlining Party aims stated that Soviet children should be protected by society and that it would not do to merely ignore the fathers and mothers who ruin the souls of their children. This "ruination" in many cases consisted of bringing children up to believe in God. This system forces a child to choose between parents and Party and induces a severe emotional and psychological strain. If the Party is chosen, then the parents must become a thing of the past; on the other hand should one go against the party eventual destruction is inevitable. To quote Lenin .. "the scum of humanity, these hopelessly rotten and atrophied mem-

*bers, this plague, this scourge, these abscesses, inherited by socialism from capitalism must be completely exterminated from our society."*

In order to establish the connection between juvenile delinquency and the destruction of the family unit an important psychological process within the Communist educational system deserves attention. Normally children are brought up by parents on basic spiritual ethics which apply to mankind as a whole. Being a thinking creature only these principles can give fulfilment and eventual contentment to man. The Soviet child who has been successfully separated from its parents is deprived of this most basic need. The child is evidently, and temporarily, quite satisfied with Communist ideology which has been beaten into him from the cradle to the extent that his is a conditioned reflex rather than a reasoned acceptance. This satisfaction can only last so long as a comparison between the accepted ideology and the facts of life is averted. Once this comparison takes place then mental conflict is the natural outcome. Soviet writer Leonid

Likhodeyev criticized certain aspects of Soviet society and Social Action — G No 10 P.V. compared the behaviour and habits of the militia organs, scientific institutions, administrative authorities and individual Soviet citizens with those of the experimental dogs of scientist I. P. Pavlov. He (Pavlov) proved his theory of conditioned reflexes by the feeding a dog only while under a circle. In time the dog's eating habits became regulated and dominated by the circle. However, an oval was substituted and immediately a problem arose in the dog's mind. Is this a circle or not? The dog of course, being incapable of reaching a solution, turned mad. The Soviet education system has a certain similarity with the training of the dog, although, young people can find their way out of their confusion more quickly.

Young people, however, carry their search for the gist of the matter too far, so that they exceed the boundary of what is permitted, learn to see new aspects of the matter and form their own opinions about things. This cannot be tolerated by the regime. That is why it has made use of

'protectors of order' and 'educators' who constantly remain entranced by its hypnotic charm. Likhodeyev analyzes this and states .." if some of us were not to be hypnotically entranced thus, we could simply shake off many trifles which have turned into problems. A person who has been hypnotised by the circle does not want an oval...It does not know what to do with it and for that reason creates problems out of sheer stupidity...Hundreds of thousands of 'Whys' are lodged in my heart as question marks. It is very painful when hooks are lodged in one's heart...."

### **The emptiness in Communist education**

Another important factor contributing to juvenile delinquency in the Soviet Union can be found in atheistic Communist doctrine. No substitute has been provided to replace the old spiritual values and the only alternative to fill this spiritual vacuum is unconditional subservience to Communism. Any attempt to find a genuine solution is promptly attacked as emotional instability as was the case with teacher Syaseva. Replying to these vio-

lent attacks she subsequently wrote .."As a result of my experience I have gradually come to the conclusion that my life has neither a purpose nor a meaning and that a bottomless, cold and terrible emptiness is beginning to take possession of my soul..." Hers is not an isolated case, all over the country young people are seeking an answer to the purpose of their lives.

In a totalitarian system such as Soviet Communism criticism in any form is barely tolerated, particularly criticism of basic ideology and its successful application. However, when the press and official organs of the regime are permitted to publish, even in a limited way, letters expressing a lack of faith and often an indirect challenge to the established system, it becomes apparent that public indignation has reached the explosive stage and becoming more and more widespread in the lower echelons. It would be timely therefore to re-produce here a few examples of letters addressed to the Soviet press and released for publication. On July 4, 1960 'Komsomolskaya Pravda' published the following



extract received from three young teachers:

"In the evenings we often discuss the problem of the meaning of life....Every human being should have a genuinely tangible aim of his own but we do not have such a goal. We thus ask ourselves what is the actual meaning of life....We cannot arouse any enthusiasm! Can one in this day and age be enthusiastic about anything at all....?"

The same newspaper carried another letter by Vladimir Shashov, a young worker from Revda in the Urals, in which he says:

"I would be interested to know the answer to the question of what the purpose of man's life on earth is. The answer that I shall be given is that every person has a purpose in life which he seeks to achieve. If, however, someone does not have a purpose in life, why does he live at all? Just so that he can eat, sleep and work? Why does he do all this? Does he work in order to be able to eat and sleep? Or does he sleep and eat in order to be able to work. My life has been such that I was forced to go to

work after only seven years schooling. And I had no opportunity to attend evening classes.... What should I strive for now? I just cannot imagine what my future looks like. Shall I continue to swim with the mass? On the other hand, one eventually gets tired of swimming with the mass. It may be that my attitude will change in time, for there are fish even in stagnant water, as they say. But I don't want to become a 'carp'. But life is so boring and cheerless. How can one change it, how can one give life a sense of purpose — I don't know."

A girl, Tatyana K., is even more explicit in a letter with she wrote to the Kazakhstan Komsomol newspaper *Leninskaya Smena*, saying:

"I have wanted for a long long time to ask someone whether people become happy through Communism.. Nowadays one reads in the newspapers and hears on the radio one and the same thing: 'Communism means a happier future' — A wonderful future for mankind—Communism etc., etc.,' ..One would like to believe it. When I was still at school I believed that

*Communist society was the ideal form. This would however mean that everyone would be happy in the ideal society. For a long time I could not admit this to myself... I do not believe in God and thus do not seek any consolation for my problems. I just do not want to be sympathized with and called unhappy. I try to make a merry, cheerful impression on people, but after two years of this hypocrisy I realized how stupid I was..*

*Dear Sir, I beg of you to give me an answer; let me know how one should live properly in order to fill in this emptiness..."*

Only rarely are voices heard which correctly appraise the real reason behind this growing agitation and search for fulfilment. The Komsomol activist O. Grebnev, for example, said most aptly at the VII Plenum of the Komsomol Central Committee:

*"The most important efforts of the Komsomol organizations are normally devoted to allowing young boys and girls as little time as possible to themselves. But can we therefore assume that we have mastered the thoughts and souls of*

*these people? No, it does not even occur to us to ask ourselves this question..."*

(Published by Komsomolskaya Pravda, February 4, 1960). It is apparent here, that Grebnev is criticising the extent of applicationary zeal, however, himself forgetting that he assumes the possibility of the impossible — the mastery of the minds and souls of the people.

From the foregoing it would be far from wrong to assume that Soviet youth has now reached an impasse which they describe as 'neither God nor the Devil'. An atheistic system has denied the existence of God and thereby failed in anchoring the human spirit. Communist ideology, which had a certain attraction at the earlier stage, cannot provide the answers for the 'why's' lodged in the hearts of Soviet youth. It is only natural that a certain section of the younger generation in its quest for deliverance from this terrible spiritual emptiness pursues amoral and criminal activities. Far from trying to rectify the system, the Party dictatorship passes new laws and new resolutions with a more rigid enforcement

of their ideology and accuses organisations with a lack of zeal.

### **The Bankruptcy in Marxism-Leninism**

The inadequacy of the Communist education of youth has resulted in the phenomenon which is often called "dual personality." This represents an attitude of mind springing from the need for self-preservation, where one supports the regime to conceal an inner antagonism. The results of this attitude is a passive acceptance rather than an active participation in life. Komsomolskaya Pravda complained on April 28, 1960 of this political indifference and passivity prompted by a letter received from Evgeny Vereshagin a student of the Leningrad State University who said "...They don't like brilliant people here. One must try to remain as anonymous as possible..." The extent of this indifference can be judged by the fact that though Vereshagin was expelled he was willing to scrub the floors just to stay on at the university. However, in some cases, the more brutally the regime tries to fit the young people into its pattern the greater the increase in

self confidence and ideological antagonism. A classic example of this strengthening of the spirit is the following quote from Komsomolskaya Pravda of August 11, 1960 "...I am opposed to socialist reality. Political training? Done it all! I'm tired of all this drivel and would like to rest."

### **Social and Economic Disorders**

No direct connection can at first be established between juvenile delinquency and this ideological struggle being waged against youth by the regime. However, what does become apparent on closer scrutiny, is the fact that the 'dual personality' is now stepping out. A large section of youth is now determined to look for the better life and since this cannot be achieved legally attempts are made illegally. The brutal suppression of even childish demonstrations of independence, classified as criminal, is clearly shown by the fact that V. Aksenov was driven to criticize the present method of combating a greater evil by "dragging off to some inquisition every young man who wore narrow trousers or every girl with dyed hair." The economic conditions and the low wages paid to the

normal worker, living conditions where a threadbare coat and a torn pair of trousers have almost become traditional with the worker have contributed towards this unrest. Conditions in agricultural areas of Kazakhstan are so appalling that one correspondent reported that the living quarters were like a cow shed, with dirt and filth all over the place, and straw mattresses were placed on the ground for sleeping. Eventually almost 140,000 operators of agricultural machinery left their jobs due to bitterness at the bad living and working conditions.

Dependent as it is on compulsion the Communist ideology has by its very nature betrayed its own most basic principle 'the equality of all people'. For after all some goal must be reached, some prize gained by the fanatic followers of the regime, if only to prove to the masses that a reward is forthcoming. There is in Russia, as in almost every country, a section of people willing to sacrifice any or all principles for the sake of good living. The luxuries of a car, a private home, lavish vacations and trips abroad, all these are

shared by the 'new class' the prize winners who have proved beyond question their loyalty to the Party. This class is only numbered in the thousands as against the millions dissatisfied with the general conditions now prevailing in Russia.

***"Druzhina" — The Soviet Instrument for Maintenance of Socialist Order***

Faced with a colossal increase in juvenile delinquency and other crimes, the Soviet Party and Government have resorted to drastic control measures. No less than the First Secretaries of the Central Committees of the various Union Republics called for the stepping up of the campaign against crime by extending the authority of the 'shock troops' (Druzhinniki) and increasing the numerical strength of this organisation. What is the Druzhina? In simple terms, a Bolshevik method of suppression. The word Druzhina is derived from "drug" (friend); in its military application it means commando group or combat unit. In this case, however, it refers to young armed Communists, who have formed themselves into voluntary shock troops, with the en-

couragement of the Soviet government, to battle hooliganism. At the moment there are 80,000 druzhiny units in the USSR with a total strength of 2,500,000. This means, that at a conservative estimate, there are about ten million active criminals in the USSR. This certainly appears fantastic until one appreciates the meaning of 'criminal activity' interpreted by the regime. For instance, V. Alyashin wrote the following letter to the editor of Komsomolskaya Pravda from Melitopol, a city patrolled by the above mentioned shock troops "...On Saturday, September 19, I was arrested by shock troopers while at a dance. I do not deny that I was guilty of accidentally dropping a cigarette but on the dance floor... At the staff of the shock troop I was treated like a dangerous criminal; they shouted at me, threatened to put me in prison and finally beat me up. This case alone would not have prompted me to write to you, but such cases are unfortunately not at all rare here in Melitopol..."

This letter puts in a nutshell the suppression carried out and the power of the Druzhina. Little imagination is required to understand and believe the extent to which

power invested in an armed volunteer group can be abused. This is exactly the purpose of the regime; a reign of terror instigated by this organisation and yet glibly termed the 'Peoples volunteers'. A Yelkin, the Soviet literary critic, pinpoints the purpose behind the organisation when he says in Komsomolskaya Pravda on March 18, 1960 "...The strange wind is still blowing in through the windows of our house. Raging ideological battles — a purge is being carried out in our society..." Though he carries on to condemn the 'reprehensible nihilists believing in the mud and filth of the old world' he hardly realises, or refuses to believe, that this is the emergence of Soviet youth thirsting for liberty and justice. A youth determined to protect its human dignity and natural rights, fighting to be freed from the Bolshevik scheme of things and seeking a different and new way of life. In other words the regime has recruited from the loyal section of Soviet youth 'shock troops' to fight the protesting section — brother betraying brother.

In conclusion we would stress that this article represents simply an attempt to analyze certain occurrences within the Soviet Union. We

acknowledge juvenile delinquency as a serious problem in many countries of the world. The tragedy of the young people who have become criminals in the Soviet Union however, lies in the fact that at first glance it is not easy to recognize the culprit responsible. On the one hand the Soviet state lays claim to the right to educate totally — and with it assumes responsibility for — the younger generation. On the

other hand it places blame with complete indifference on the shoulders of individuals responsible for their education, or the families. This contradiction leads to constant intensification of internal counter-measures. But the past has shown these measures to fail and on the contrary prove favourable to the growth of juvenile crime. A negative principle cannot produce positive results.

(Based on 'Quo Vadis — Soviet Youth' published by the Union of Emigre Youth of the Peoples of the USSR.)

---

Continued from page 576.

the failure of tractors. Some of the land which was to have been reclaimed is situated in areas where no villages have yet been established. In the Umarkote region, the area of 6500 acres which remains to be fully reclaimed is entirely in the Raigarh zone which will be the main scene of village settlements for the next season. The arrival of settlers into the project remained a trickle throughout the greater part of the last working season. Hence a greater area in the Raigarh zone was not fully reclaimed as exposing this area to the monsoon would have meant that the top soil would have been washed away.

Each agricultural settler in a village is given 6.7 acres of

land and not all is suitable for paddy cultivation. Seed purchases for the settlers is based on the assumption that on the average not more than four acres can be used for paddy. Since tractors for cultivation are limited the DDA proposes to implement an ambitious but feasible scheme for purchase of bullocks. Introduction of profitable schemes for small scale industries should necessarily wait for the stage when settlers are taken in large numbers to permanent rehabilitation sites and till then pilot schemes for cottage industries are proposed to be taken up. Mr. Sukumar Sen, Chairman of the DDA believes that in another year the basic arrangements for complete rehabilitation work will have been fully undertaken.

# *Theory to Practice*

Alfred de Souza

## RECLAIMING THE SLUMS OF CHALIL

For years the shabby, primitive huts had been there, looking like gigantic tortoises squatting in the sand. Today, scores of these huts have vanished as if by magic ; they have been replaced by blocks of comfortable, sturdy, attractive houses. This astonishing transformation of part of the slums of Chalil and Gopalpetta, both suburbs of Tellicherry in North Kerala, was pioneered by the vision and daring of one man : Fr. Joseph Taffarel S.J., a veteran Italian missionary.

### **General Situation**

Chalil is a notoriously active communist centre, and so is Gopalpetta which has been commonly dubbed the 'Moscow of Tellicherry'. The almost irresistible appeal of communism to the fisherfolk of Chalil and Gopalpetta is quickly understood when one surveys the appalling conditions under which they live.

When Fr. Taffarel came to Chalil in mid-January, 1959, he found the people crushed and despairing under the burden of almost intolerable poverty. Harrassed by debts, the fisherfolk were victims of calculated exploitation by pitiless money-lenders. They owed their boats and nets to the money-lenders who claimed the major share of the day's catch when it was hauled ashore, not as part payment of the loan but only as interest on it. In this way the money-lenders were able to get the original loan repaid several times over and yet have it, as far as the ignorant fisherfolk were concerned, unpaid.

Under the unrelenting pressure of this oppressive poverty, the social, moral and religious life of the fisherfolk had been twisted out of shape. A sense of hopelessness and apathy took hold of them. The weary struggle to maintain a bare subsistence level gradually broke down their morale. They had no incentive to work, no future to look forward to. They showed no interest in education. Few children were fortunate enough to reach middle school a very insignificant percentage of these persevered through high school. The religious life of the people deteriorated rapidly. There was an alarming increase in absenteeism from Church, and not a few drifted away from the Faith towards communism. Christianity seemed to have failed in Chalil.

At the source of this chaotic situation was the deplorable and utterly inadequate housing.

The slums of Chalil, Fr. Taffarel affirms, are "the dirtiest and most disorderly I have ever seen." They consisted of clusters of squat coconut-palm huts that were low, dark, windowless and smoke-filled. Lack of ventilation made them unbearably oppressive in the summer heat; during the rains, the roof was leaky and the floor damp and, at times, actually flooded. In these sordid and unhygienic conditions epidemics were common: dysentery, pneumonia, typhoid and infectious skin diseases. Child mortality was very high. The children were uncared for and left to pick up an education in the streets and the bazaars. No privacy of any sort was possible as often enough three, and even four, families shared the same congested hut. This naturally had serious repercussions on the moral and spiritual life of the inmates.

"In such difficult home conditions," commented Fr. Taffarel with characteristic realism, "how can you expect Christian life based on sound morality to flourish? There was no point in condemning the people and crusading against abuses. *You had first to make it possible, for them to remove the*



*cause of these moral and social disorders. In our own case, it was simply utopian to expect any significant change in the condition of the people unless they could be provided with decent housing."*

### **The Project**

Always the man of action, Fr. Taffarel proceeded to translate his carefully thought-out housing scheme into stone and concrete. Near St. Peter's Church was a two acre property belonging to the parish on which stood four delapidated mud-walled houses. With the Bishop's approval, Fr. Taffarel demolished these houses and dug the foundation of his first block of twelve houses. On March 19, 1960, twelve happy families experienced for the first time in their lives what it meant to have a *tiled* roof over their heads. Two other blocks — one of thirteen, the other of eight houses — were to go up later on.

Each house was planned to accommodate in simple comfort an average family — father, mother, and five children. The houses were designed to have two bedrooms (80 sq. ft. each), a common living room (6' x 20'), a kitchen, toilet-cum-bathroom. There was a verendah in front marked off by cement-concrete railings; behind each house there was a tiny yard which could be turned into a kitchen garden.

Fr. Taffarel was determined that everything in the construction should be *pukka*. The walls are all of strong laterite, plastered both within and without. The floor is cemented, the roof timbered and tiled. A big well was constructed to provide the inmates with their water supply. With a little additional expenditure, these houses will soon be having running water. None of the houses was fitted with electricity. This was left to the initiative and enterprise of each family. Some have already got it.

A week before Christmas, 1959, a fire destroyed eight huts near Chalil Church. This offered Fr. Taffarel an opportunity to extend the benefits of his housing project. He im-

mediately designed and built a two-storeyed block which would accommodate twenty families, and, in addition, leave a fine courtyard in front for the children to play in. Unfortunately, opposition from an influential family forced Fr. Taffarel to reduce the plan to twelve houses.

By the end of 1960 the number of houses built in Chalil was 46. Nor was Gopalpetta excluded from what Fr. Taffarel calls his "programme of social uplift, moral improvement and spiritual revival". He purchased a piece of land belonging to some muslims and built two blocks of 4 houses each. In the angle formed by these blocks, he built a fine little jewel of a chapel dedicated to Our Lady of Fatima. Soon he was offered more land for his housing scheme. Here he planned to construct 21 houses in 3 blocks. The foundations of the first block of 11 houses have already been completed soon the walls will be going up.

### **Financial Aspect**

Profiting from his invaluable experience in the Pulayan missions, Fr. Taffarel decided that renting the houses to his people was impracticable. Neither did he favour the idea of making a free gift of these houses to the people. This, as Fr. Taffarel wisely points out, is not educative, not advisable, not effective. Instead, he adopted a method which he admirably terms "a combination of charity and business". He introduced *payment on an instalment basis leading to full ownership of the house.*

The total cost of each house (including expenditure for some additional facilities) was approximately Rs. 3000. Fr. Taffarel was willing to let the people have these house for only Rs. 1000, to be paid in *monthly* instalments. When the full amount was paid a document guaranteeing legal ownership was made over to the family. However, there were certain conditions attached to possession. The new owners could not alienate, rent or mortgage the house. Should they not need the house any more, they were to sell it back to the Church for the same amount they had paid for it.

### **The Effects**

Has this housing project made any difference in the lives of the Christians of Chalil and Gopalpetta? Fr. Taffarel emphatically affirms that it has. "I can truly say," he confidently states, "that 90% of my success among these people is due to my housing project." One is inclined to accept Fr. Taffarel's estimate when one considers the significant change in the mentality of the people brought about by the housing project.

It was noticed that the possession of his own house stirred in the once despondent and apathetic fisherfolk that precious, uplifting sense of independence. It gave the people an incentive to work, to save; a future to look forward to. "The people", Fr. Taffarel noted, "are greatly attached to their own houses. They are ready to make any sacrifices to acquire them and keep them." Then men are now learning self-sacrifice and thrift, so much so that those who used to take money from Fr. Taffarel are the very ones who are now *bringing* it to him in order to get a house of their own! Several have broken off their connection with communism; the moral tone of the community as a whole has risen and religious services have registered an appreciable increase in attendance.

It would be a mistake to think that Fr. Taffarel is of the opinion that his housing project, excellent as it is, has solved all the problems of Chalil and Gopalpetta. He would be the first to admit that he has touched just the fringes of a truly vast and complex situation. Fr. Taffarel has pioneered a way successfully in a very difficult yet vitally important social area. Yet of equal significance, perhaps, is the inspiration and encouragement and strength his splendid achievement will give those who are facing similar problems in other parts of our country.

# NEWS AND COMMENT

from  
the editorials

## MEN WITHOUT STATUS

They ask for bread and are given stones. They must not grumble or protest but shall always cheerfully serve the nation and mould the minds of tomorrows citizens. In the name of patriotism and integration and progress on all fronts these harried men must for ever remain faceless and joyless. That at least seems to be the impression of our educational authorities with regard to the living and working conditions of the country's primary and secondary teachers. Is it not known that no group of people, be they the most civilised, restrained and self-sacrificing, can for long subsist with a fair measure of efficiency and contentment on ennobling slogans and the empty shells of principles. Teaching is a noble profession, they are told every other day ; no greater service can be rendered to the nation, they are constantly reminded. If cliches can soothe

their hearts and fill their bellies it would indeed have remained a noble task ; but alas, there are irritating realities such as food, shelter, clothing, security and a sense of belonging that they, as teachers and human beings, have to contend with in much the same way as Class I Officers, top civil servants, general managers and ministers have.

But something more than usual, something extra, is often expected of them, for reasons which are totally obscure. If primary teachers were supermen or by a quirk of nature gifted with extraordinary powers, there would have been no need to raise a voice of protest. But they are ordinary men, even if they have not much of a face to show to the world, and they have all the ordinary commitments and needs and desires and rights and duties ; and when they come up against a

blank wall they are as pathetically frustrated as any other servants of the nation.

If the nation's leaders do believe seriously in the need to give top priority to education — and good and sound education at that — they must realise that it cannot be done with the half willing help of low paid teachers. It is meaningless to talk in terms of the 'total financial burden' that will inevitably fall on the shoulders of Government if primary teachers, for instance, were given Rs. 100 instead of Rs. 75. To the frustrated teacher the 'burden' has no meaning: he is overwhelmed by his own personal burdens. The 'Total financial burden'

of providing clean drinking water in all villages and towns is indeed heavy; but is it reasonable to oppose or delay its provision on that account?

If the teaching profession has lost its nobility that is mainly due to the neglect it has all these years been subjected to, reducing the thousands of normally earnest men and women to a tragic state of statuslessness. They are lectured to, bossed over, beaten up, openly disobeyed by students. And it is such men without status and men without much hope or good cheer that are expected to teach the citizens of tomorrow! How high can wishful thinking soar?

### Increasing Income of landless farm labourer

A number of measures to secure an increase in the per capita income of landless agricultural labourers in Maharashtra to the extent of 33.34 per cent during the Third Plan period in order to reduce the disparity between their economic condition and that the State's population as a whole have been recommended by the Study Group on Landless Agricultural Labour-

ers set up by the State Consultative Committee on the Third Five-Year Plan.

*Reducing Disparity* — While considering the basic approach to the Third Plan, the committee felt that special measures should be taken for improving the economic condition of the landless agricultural labour.

The study group under the Chairmanship of Prof. D. R. Gadgil, has submitted its report which was accepted by the committee. The various recommendations of the group have been taken into account while preparing the State's Plan.

Assuming that the increase in the per capita income for the State's population would be about 16-17 per cent during the Third Plan period the group has recommended that in order to reduce the disparity between the incomes of the landless agricultural labour and that of the State population, the target for the growth in the income of the former should be fixed at 33.34 per cent.

*Measures for economic improvement* — The measures suggested by the group for improving the economic condition of the landless agricultural labour include the granting of land to them by means of ceiling on land holdings; setting up of industries based on local resources; constructional activities and the programme of milk production and poultry farming.

According to the estimates of the group, the proposed in-

crease in the net cropped area and the distribution of waste land and surplus land and the development of industries would bring about an overall increase of 20.4 per cent.

To make up the remaining 13 per cent the study team has suggested suitable adjustments in other sectors — more concentrated effort to link agricultural labour with the programmes of milk production and poultry rearing. It has suggested that at least 25 per cent of the Plan outlay provided for developing milk and poultry production in the rural areas should be utilised for the benefit of landless agricultural labour.

Another adjustment suggested by the group is the taking up of additional construction work in rural areas. The group has suggested the setting up of a joint sector of the Government and growers for secondary stage agricultural processing industries as it would not always be feasible for the growers' co-operatives to undertake such endeavours on account of the risks involved and the more complicated technical know-how required.

*Immediate steps* — A programme of public works to be executed annually will be included reclamation of lands, contour bunding, afforestation

and tree planting, minor irrigation, roads, public and institutional buildings of all types will be included.

## National Integration

No intelligent and politically conscious person in India will deny the vital importance of National Integration. Yet the Conference on National Integration has failed to arouse in any great measure enthusiasm for its policies or statements and generally speaking the country is still sunk in indifference and apathy. It is a poor reflection on the country and the people, that after fifteen years of independence we still admit conditions exist that bode ill for the unity and internal strength of the nation. Very recently the Prime Minister used the words 'Civil War' and we are reminded of the ugly fact that in one way or another disintegration has reached this dangerous level.

It is difficult to understand, therefore, why the Conference limited itself to considering the problem almost entirely from the educational point of view. True, it has adopted a

code of conduct for political parties and in the process shattered our Quixotic belief that even among rogues there was such a thing as a 'gentlemen's agreement'. Paradoxically, a nation that won freedom by non-violence will soon take an oath to abjure violence in maintaining that very freedom. Yet we can hardly afford to laugh at these banal solutions when the situation is serious enough to warrant them.

Getting back to the main theme of education as the only solution to integration. Admittedly education will play a vital part and should be the base structure on which to develop and build up national unity, but it certainly is not the only aspect of so vast a problem which requires a much more urgent solution. Education of itself, is a slow process as it aims at moulding the future generation, rather than influencing the already mature and set

generation of today. Contrary to the sense of urgency that permeated the Conference an erroneous impression is created that the only solution suggested, will take about ten to fifteen years and that national unity will have to wait that long. Even here, unfortunately, education as practiced in India merely means the acquirment of knowledge; whereas what is actually needed is the development of character to apply this knowledge correctly. It is not enough to say that Hindi must be taught in a Marathi speaking state, with the fond belief that Hindi will prove a means to national identity as an Indian, while still insisting that Marathi is the mother tongue. A much better policy would have been to insist that as Hindi was the only language completely representative of India as a whole, it should, therefore, be called the mother tongue at the same time giving all due respect to the regional language.

### ***Growth of a nation***

In the first place it should be realised that the phase we are going through is a natural one, though regrettable.

These are the evolutionary pains of a nation that has just recently won its freedom. Once we have the courage to admit this then the tendency to avoid responsibility that goes hand in hand with mutual suspicion is to a large extent removed.

History repeats itself and we are in no way unique among the nations of the past and present in as much that we have to grow to a mature nationhood. We were more fortunate than some in having an efficient administrative system and adopted unanimously a parliamentary form of government already functioning in India introduced by our former rulers. The reality of Independence lay in the transference of power and authority to the people rather than any change or overthrow of basic ideals. Why is it then, that in spite of this great initial advantage, we have tended to disintegrate ?

One of the main reasons lies in the fact that our states reorganisation pre-supposed a form of federalism. At the same time the vast socio-economic problems facing India determined a govern-



ment policy where socialism, the welfare state, planned economy and the socialist pattern of society, had to be adopted and could only be put into effect through centralised authority. On the one hand we have an idealistic constitution guaranteeing liberty and freedom of choice, and on the other, conditions that force a curtailment of these very liberties. There is bound to be some conflict until such time that our parliamentary form of government gradually changes and modifies to cope with local conditions.

#### ***Independence and aftermath***

Fifteen years in the life of a nation is almost infancy. We are still slightly drunk with the wine of nationalism, that essential ingredient for the winning of independence. Nationalism in India did not grow out of a need to protect age old traditions and cultures, on the contrary, those who fostered nationalism generally broke away from the old way of life. Theirs was a new dynamism and political consciousness directed at the overthrow of alien rule. Upto a point nationalism served in binding together and awakening a sense of unity throughout the country to achieve the

destruction of alien rule an essentially negative objective. Nationalism proves, quite often, to be the destructive factor in the positive task of building up steadily a new notion. Rupert Emerson (D) commenting on nationalism says "...nationalism which has been the guiding star of Asian peoples seeking independence and an equal status in the world becomes a grossly inadequate guiding star once independence and equality have been won. To look to it as giving the answers is likely to be at best a futile and worst a damaging and dangerous procedure.."

The Independence of the nation is primarily the independence of the individual. The most natural reaction to new found freedom would be one of truculence and getting ahead, of trying to run before walking, in an atmosphere that guarantees equal opportunity for all. Our leaders probably just as drunk as the masses, failed to recognise in time the consequences of freedom and the need to build up, from the very beginning, a sense of restraint and obligation towards one another. Inevitably a point is reached where individual scrambling

to get the best of independence lead to clashes.

Together with nationalism is awakened a sense of self-awareness which manifests itself in social mobilisation. Unfortunately, once we won independence rather than controlling and channeling nationalism for the good of the nation, we withdrew almost immediately into our own individual communities. Nationalism, with its revolutionary spark, changed to dominant self-centredness and became the disruptive characteristic of communal independence. An aggressive quality was injected into the usually placid communities of the masses by the educated and politically conscious minority. The result was that instead of developing a genuine sense of politics, ours become a personality cult which is the most dangerous element in political evolution.

### ***Historical identity***

Far from having a common historical identity we are a conglomerate of diverse people as separate from each other as the peoples of other continents. An identity of purpose, far removed from historical identity, manifest-

ed itself only recently in our fight for independence. Once this objective was reached, mainly through the genius of Mahatma Gandhi and his universal appeal, we reverted back to traditional and cultural adherences with the added impetus of reactionary nationalism. Here again, we followed the dangerous policy of ignoring elementary and existing facts and invariably blamed outside interests, in this case, British occupation and colonial policy was a convenient scapegoat. Unfortunately, no matter how we twist and turn, the fact remains that the British did not create the differences; they were there and were merely allowed to stagnate. As a matter of fact Mr. Munshi admitted at the Conference that "... The national consciousness of the country was the result of the last 50 or 100 years of English education.. "!! Instead of denying diversity, if we had to admit it, then perhaps a felling of pride in common achievement and overcoming a common weakness, would have effectively harnessed us.

Revolutionary fervour carried us forward for a while, until it became necessary to

create governing blocs for a type of federal administration, and then the hue and cry was on. We screamed for individual recognition on the grounds of language, tradition and geography. The government chose what she thought was the least of these evils, and we had the linguistic divisions. The assumption being that language was the trade mark of the larger ethnic groups. Quite naturally the major languages only could be recognised; the minorities far from being looked after by the majority were looked upon with suspicion. Once recognition was given on the basis of previous agitation and not as a matter of pre-determined policy, the bad example and the success attendant to it, spread like a rash.

Instead of a policy of side-stepping immediate trouble, if the division of India was objectively based on the future needs of the country, and carried through regardless of sentiment and traditional barriers, by now the formative generation would have been reaping the fruits of this policy and would have believed and accepted as just the initial action, regardless

of the sacrifice. On the other hand all indications point to the fact that the younger generation is going in more and more for agitation with little or no faith in government policy.

### **Political Picture**

From Aristotle comes the time tested theory that it is the people who are the best judges of the government to whom they are subject. This theory applies particularly to institutional forms of government where a systematic system is incorporated for registering grievances. In politics today, and in parliamentary forms of government such as ours, the content of the theory still exists, but essentially the emphasis shifts to an 'Opposition' party which takes up and fight for the redressing of grievances. The strength and popularity of the opposition depends on this and helps to keep the existing government from becoming too complacent.

For fifteen years now we have had a one party government which shows no signs of relaxing its hold, nor do we find the slightest trace of a party strong enough to act as the opposition. The most im-

portant function of a strong and active opposition is that it is in fact a shadow government, capable of taking over the reins of government once the people decide that the party in power is incapable of meeting the demands of the country. The lack of effective opposition has two dangerous consequences. A deterioration in the dedication of the ruling party and a growing tendency of its members to foster self interest before that of the country; secondly the ever present danger of a sudden upheaval of the masses brought about by the gradual accumulation of un-redressed grievances and turning to ideologies that cloak totalitarianism.

With an effective opposition in parliament we would have had the opportunity to agitate through constitutional channels rather than resort to local agitation which is in-

variably uncontrolled and gets tainted by communalism etc. Then again, minor political groups trying merely to survive jump at these heaven sent chances to bolster up their own platforms. Investigations into recent communal disturbances have proved that political instigation has been the prime factor backing violence and tension.

With the general elections around the corner it is the people who must be made aware of their responsibilities in the election of honest and genuine candidates. Political hyenaism will not be deterred by the adoption of a code of ethics unless the breaking of the code be punishable by law. Then the element of fear rather than conscience would be more effective. But in the final analysis it is the political maturity and selectiveness of the electorate that will have the final say.

L. R.

# OUR SOCIAL OBJECTIVES IN THE NEW YEAR

L. Rodricks

## **Objectives and Policy**

The basic objective of India's development must necessarily be to provide the masses of the Indian people the opportunity to lead a good life. In the larger context of the world, the realisation of this objective for India as for other countries, is intimately tied up with, and dependent on the maintenance of world peace. It has been increasingly recognised that the welfare and peace of the world require the extermination of poverty and disease and ignorance from every country, so as to build up a liberated humanity.

To provide the good life to the four hundred million people of India and more, is a vast undertaking, and the achievement of this goal is far off. But no lesser goal can be kept in view, because each present step has to be conditioned by the final objective. The experience of the last ten years of planning and the large social and economic changes that have already taken place have brought a conviction that

India can look forward with assurance to sustained economic progress. There is an excitement in this changing face of India as the drama of India's development plans unfolds itself. The most immediate problem is to combat the curse of poverty which can only be achieved by social and economic advance. This involves replacing the old traditional order by a dynamic society, which has gradually taken concrete shape, and has become the basis for planning.

## **Development patterns**

The leading features of the pattern of development envisaged in the Five Year Plans may be briefly stated. The basis objective is to provide sound foundations for sustained economic growth, for increasing opportunities for gainful employment and improving living standards and working conditions for the masses. In the scheme of development, the first priority necessarily belongs to agriculture and this growth and the development of human resources hinges upon the

advances made by industry. Agriculture and industry must be regarded as integral parts of the same process of development. Through planned development, therefore, the growth of industry has to be speeded and economic progress accelerated. The public sector is expected to provide specially for the further development of industries of basic and strategic importance or in the nature of public utility services.

In the pattern of development envisaged in the Five Year Plans, co-operation is expected to become progressively the principal basis of organisation in several branches of economic life, notably, in agriculture, small industry, distribution, construction and provision of essential amenities for local communities.

### ***Socialist development***

It is a basic premise in India's Five Year Plans that, through democracy and widespread public participation, development along socialist lines will secure rapid economic growth. Where the bulk of the people live so close to the margin of poverty, the claims of social justice, of the right to work, of equal opportunity and of minimum level of living have great ur-

gency. Progress towards socialism lies along a number of directions, each enhancing the value of the others. Above all, a socialist economy must be efficient, progressive in its approach to science and technology, and capable of growing steadily to a level at which the well-being of the mass of the population can be secured. Finally a society developing on the basis of democracy and socialism is bound to place the greatest stress on social values and incentives and on developing a sense of common interest and obligations among all sections of the community.

### ***Employment***

The first condition for securing equality of opportunity and achieving a national minimum is assurance of gainful employment for every one who seeks work. In an underdeveloped country, failure to provide full employment can be traced to certain fundamental deficiencies in the economic structure. Until the industrial base has been greatly strengthened and education and other social services developed the economy is unable to achieve a rate of growth sufficient to provide work at an adequate level of remuneration to the labour force. As economic development pro-

ceeds, social security and insurance will come to have high priority. Through the scheme of provident funds and health insurance for industrial workers the first important steps in this direction have already been taken. In the course of the Third Plan it is proposed to introduce a scheme of employment assistance for industrial workers and in rural areas facilities for registration are to be provided for persons seeking work. Thus, social services along with intensive economic development should go some distance in providing more equal opportunities in different sections of the community.

A large segment of India's development plans reaches the mass of the people through community development. The community development must seek, above all, to bring about increase in agricultural production, higher standards of productivity and fuller utilisation of the available manpower and other resources. With its stress on the development of local initiative and responsibility and on co-operative self-help, the movement is designed to serve as a spearhead of a wide range of programmes of development. The development of a co-operative

agro-industrial economy in rural areas is essential for ensuring that the benefits of industrialisation spread out evenly among different sections of the population, and to different areas, and for securing a large measure of integration between rural and industrial development in each region.

### ***The Private Sector***

The growth of the corporate private sector over the past decade has brought to the fore the question of the means by which economic growth will be secured without concentration of economic power and the emergence of monopolistic tendencies. The tendency towards concentration of economic power has to be countered in a variety of ways — firstly, through the extension of the public sector into fields requiring the establishment of large scale units and heavy investments; secondly, through widening opportunities for new entrants and for medium and small sized units as well as for industries organized on co-operative lines; and thirdly, through effective exercise of Government's powers of control and regulation and use of appropriate fiscal measures. In a developing economy taxation is one of the main instru-

ments of social policy and, in accordance with the needs of the Plan, devices such as rebates, concessions and incentives have to be employed so as to prevent concentration of economic interests and to encourage new units as well as medium and small scale businesses and co-operative undertakings.

Powers under the Industries Development and Regulation Act can also be used to exercise control over production, distribution and prices to the extent necessary. To sum up, in dealing with the problems of concentration of economic power, there is already general agreement on the broad objectives, and the necessary legislative and other sanctions needed are in fact available for the greater part.

### **Land Reform**

The programme of land reform with its stress on the abolition of intermediary rights, security and rent reduction for tenants and enforcement of ceilings on agricultural holdings, was calculated to release the productive forces of the rural economy. There has been progress in this direction but, owing to inadequate implementation of tenancy reforms and delays, in carrying out the programme for ceilings on agri-

cultural holdings, this has been less than was hoped for.

Disparities in income and wealth which arise from industrial and economic growth raise a series of complex problems. The first of these concerns differences in levels of earned income. This is due to a variety of circumstances more especially the relative scarcity of trained personnel, lack of social mobility, and presence of inflationary influences. In this connection it will be recalled that the Taxation Enquiry Commission considered a reasonable range of incomes after tax to be about thirty times the average family income. This broad objective should be progressively realised over the next two or three Plan periods.

With the rapid development and expansion of employment, the incomes of the vast majority of workers in industry and services and of self employed workers, like farmers and skilled artisans, may be expected to increase steadily and, on the whole, in far relationship to productivity. However for the lower middle class and those in the lowest income groups, it is important that the prices of essential commodities should be kept down and social ser-



vices, especially education, health and housing should be brought within easy reach. At the other end of the scale, the greatest attention must be given to those who are totally unemployed or suffer from serious under-employment. The provision of employment education and social service benefits should also be extended as fully as possible.

The socialist pattern of society provides a major line of advance in a developing economy, which is becoming increasingly complex, and in which there is a constant interplay of a variety of social, economic and other elements.

Progress along each separate course has its own limitations. Conflicts between different objectives and the means available for achieving them have to be reconciled. In the last analysis, economic development is but a means to an end - the building up, through effort and sacrifice a society without caste, class or privilege. The people of India today, with all their burdens and problems, live on the frontier of a new world which they are helping to build. In order to cross this frontier they have to possess courage and enterprise, the spirit of endurance and capacity for hard work and the vision of the future.

---

## AN ESSAY IN MIGRATION

The 'Dandakaranya Project' established for the rehabilitation of about 6000 displaced families living in camps in West Bengal faced the possibility of a shut down some time ago. Fortunately the project was not abandoned and the very vital work of rehabilitation is now in full swing.

The displaced persons in camps in West Bengal were reluctant to move to Danda-

karanya all along and during the working season 1960-61, though it was anticipated that 6000 families would arrive there, actually 1040 families shifted to that place. This failure on their part to move necessitated a drastic revision of the programme by the Dandakaranya Development Authority. According to the Chief Administrator of the project, three months ago, serious con-

sideration had to be given to the possibility of the project being wound up. The Staff Review Committee even went to the extent of recommending heavy reductions in the strength of the staff already sanctioned and awaiting recruitment.

### **Firm Policy**

Both the Central and State Governments have followed a firm policy in regard to the rehabilitation of refugees who have been living in the camps in this State. Final notices were served on them insisting that they should move within 60 days otherwise rehabilitation would be denied. Unfortunately, politics took a hand in the ensuing agitation which resulted in the police firing at Bagjola camp where some of the refugees had resorted to hunger strikes. The only concession the Government did make was to extend the time limit. This had the desired effect and the movement of the DPs gained considerable momentum and now promises to be less halting than hitherto. A steady and substantial flow is expected in the coming months since there is a growing awareness among the refugees of the benefits of the DDAs scheme.

### **Development Work**

The DDA is now determined to develop the Dandakaranya

area irrespective of the number of families who move from West Bengal camps to the area. The Chief Administrator has himself drawn attention to the many imponderable and formidable factors responsible for the small number of displaced persons resettled there so far. Some of the difficulties like the scattered nature of the operational area and shortage of technical personnel are still there and the DDA at its meeting here, has agreed to certain proposals for alleviating the more serious consequences of these difficulties. The programme worked out is on the assumption that a minimum of 5000 families will arrive by June 1962. This will imply the establishment of 100 new villages, reclamation of 50,000 acres of land, provision of agricultural implements, bullocks and seeds to 5,000 farmers. The DDA plans to establish 100 new villages, 5,000 houses, 100 wells, 100 tanks, 100 schools and an equal number of community centres.

### **Difficulties or reclamation**

There have been difficulties in regard to the reclamation of lands. Paralkote region on 1191 acres out of 8954 acres were reclaimed since the DP families were not moving into the area and also because of

Continued on page 556.

*Special Issue of*  
**SOCIAL ACTION**

*on*

*'Mater et Magistra'*

*the*

*New Social Encyclical*

*with*

Also available specially  
prepared questionnaire

**Price of Issue 75 np.**

**Price of Qst. 15 np.**

*For particulars apply to*

**INDIAN SOCIAL INSTITUTE**

13 Boat Club Road,

**POONA — 1.**

# WAGE DETERMINATION AND ORGANISED LABOUR IN INDIA

BY

*A. Fonseca*

A Study of the influence of trade unions in India  
on the level of wages.

A few copies available at :

**INDIAN SOCIAL INSTITUTE,**

**13, Boat Club Road, POONA - 1**

*Price : Rs. 15 plus postage*

---

# INDUSTRIAL ENTREPRENEURSHIP IN MADRAS STATE

BY

*J. J. Berna*

A study of the development of entrepreneurship  
among the Indian Industrial Community in the  
State of Madras.

**Publishers : ASIA PUBLISHING HOUSE,  
BOMBAY.**

*Pages : 239*

*Price : Rs. 18*

